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WHO WERE THE PADOUCA?

BY GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL

ACCOUNTS of early exploration in the West seem to show that the Padouca, under their various similar names, occupied the central plains from the Black Hills region south to the Arkansas or beyond. The name was familiar for one hundred years, and then passed out of use. It appears on early maps, but not in a way to indicate much about the tribe's relationship to other peoples. Some of these maps are mentioned here:

D'Anville's map, said to be drawn in 1732, published in 1755, has the Kansas river marked "R. des Padoucas et Kansez."

du Pratz's map of Louisiana, 1758, shows Padouca villages in four places:

1. On north bank of Arkansas river about northeast of Santa Fe.
2. On the head of a southern branch of the Kansas river—possibly the Smoky Hill. This village is marked "Gr [and] Village of the Padoucas."
3. On the n. bank of the n. fork of Kansas river [(?) Republican river] about due north of the Grand village.
4. On a southern branch of the Missouri, which probably is intended for the Platte.

He says the distance from the Padouca village to the Kanzas village on the Missouri is $65\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. The length of a French league is uncertain, but it was not more than 2.75 miles. This would make the distance perhaps 180 miles or less and would put the Grand Padouca village about as far above the forks of the Kansas river as Ellsworth, Kansas.

This map shows no Apaches at all in the plains east of New Mexico and north of Texas.

Palairret's map, 1755, marks Kansas river, "R. Padoucas." Sets down village of the Padoucas as situated 232 miles west of the

junction of Kansas river with Missouri river and on the 40th degree of north latitude. This would be on the Republican river.

The old Spanish map brought back by Lewis and Clark, and printed in the Atlas Volume VII of Original Journals shows little circles indicating fixed villages on the north bank of the Platte, and marked "Padouca Inds." This map was probably made late in the eighteenth century, perhaps 1790 to 1800. I know of no record of whites visiting the Padouca on the Platte, but the traders from St. Louis were among the Pawnees from about 1750 onward at irregular intervals.

Mallet, in 1739, applied to one of the forks of the Platte the name *Padocas river* and on the Spanish map just referred to, the south fork of the Platte is marked *Padouca Fork*, and James in Long follows this.

The locations given for the Padouca on the French maps after 1720 seem to show that they were in the heart of the plains country, reaching from south of the Canadian north across the head of that stream, across the Arkansas, the Kansas river, to and well beyond the Platte. The French maps sometimes divide these people into white and black Padouca just as they divided the Pawnees into white and black.

Omaha and Ponka traditions speak of a Padouca village in the sand hills near the Niobrara river or the head of the Elkhorn. It was by a lake and is so shown on the du Lac map, but the village was abandoned long before his day.

There was a Padouca village on the Dismal river north of the Platte river, which was visited by Ponkas during their wanderings on the plains at an early date. This village is mentioned in Fletcher and La Flesche.¹ It is possible, but not likley, that this may be the same Padouca village shown on du Lac's map. The country near the head of the Dismal river formerly had many lakes, some dry and some with water. There are many lakes in that part of Nebraska.

The Omaha call the Dismal river "Where the Padouca built breastworks."

¹ *Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1911, "The Omaha," p. 88.

The Caddoan people, visited in 1719 near the junction of the two forks of the Canadian, spoke to La Harpe and du Tisne of Padouca villages on the Arkansas, the Cimarron, and the Canadian, east of the Spanish settlements.

We have always been taught that the Padouca were Comanche, but, in fact, were they so?

The term, so far as I know, is not used by the Spaniards, who were more likely to speak of *los gentiles Cumanches*, as in documents quoted by Bandelier.¹ Bandelier says that between the years 1700 and 1705 the Utes brought the Comanches first down into New Mexico at the pueblo of Taos. Up to this time the Utes and different bands of Apaches are the only *gentiles*—wild Indians—mentioned in the plains to the north and east of the New Mexico frontier. The Spanish documents quoted by Bandelier in the same paper seem to show that there were Apaches living toward the plains east of the most northerly Spanish settlements. In 1719, the Apaches Jicarillas lived at a place called Jicarilla about thirty miles from Taos and about one hundred miles from Santa Fe, somewhere near the head of the Canadian river. Bancroft (*History of New Mexico*, p. 239) says that in 1724 this settlement was attacked by Comanches who carried off half the women and children and killed all the rest of the inhabitants. The Apache village called Quar-telejo was one hundred forty miles north by east of Jicarilla. About 1748, the remnant of these Apaches was driven by the Comanche to take shelter at the Taos and Pecos pueblos.

Bandelier says that Quar-telejo was about three hundred miles northeast of Santa Fe and believes it was in western Kansas near the southern line of Nebraska. The documents state that the distance was carefully reckoned—*demarcado*. Every Spanish expedition had with it a man who carefully reckoned each day's march and set down the distance. The site of Quar-telejo is thought to have been identified recently—in Scott county, Kansas.

In 1719, Don Antonio Valverde Cossio, Governor in New Mexico, made an expedition to Quar-telejo and there heard of those Pananas who lived on a great river seventy leagues north of Quar-

¹ *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, vol. v, p. 184.

telejo, and that among the Pananas were some Frenchmen. Panana was the Spanish name for Pawnees, who had long been known to the New Mexico Spaniards, and is the name today applied to the Pawnees by all the Pueblo Indians, including the Zunis. In March 1720, Colonel Villazur was ordered to go to the Pananas and, on his way, to establish a presidio or garrison at Quarteletejo. It was later decided that a presidio could not be built at Quarteletejo because it was so distant in the barren plains and because it had so little wood and good water. The Apaches, who lived there, left the place in winter, because of the lack of wood, and wintered elsewhere.

Villazur set out with a force of fifty Spaniards, armed with guns, and had with him a force of Indians constantly referred to in the documents of the time as Apaches Jicarillas. Incidentally, he took with him, besides servants, a mule loaded with his own table silverware, which later, certain narrators referred to as "church plate." The expedition set out June 14, 1720, and on September 6, Tamariz, a soldier, reached Santa Fe with the news that the command had been destroyed.

A Pawnee slave among the Apaches had been taken along by Villazur as guide and, after sixty-two days' march from Santa Fe, the company reached a large river August 15th. There was a Panana village on the north bank of the river and Villazur sent his Pawnee man to the village to speak to the people; but the man did not return. Villazur became alarmed and retreated one day south and camped on a river and in the night advanced again and camped on a southern branch of the river where the Pawnees were. The next morning he was attacked with "volleys of musketry and arrows." His Apaches fled and presently such of the Spaniards as were left alive also ran off. Forty Spaniards, including Villazur and—probably—the priest, were killed, and about ten escaped and reached Taos. The Spaniards declared that there were Frenchmen with the Pawnees. This story is well known and has often been told.

Under date of July 20, 1721, Bienville, then Governor of Louisiana, wrote a letter declaring that two hundred Spaniards and a

large force of Padoucas had marched toward the Missouri to attack the French in the Illinois country; but they were attacked by the Otoes and the Panimaha, who killed all but one Spaniard and many Padoucas. This one Spaniard, he said, was a prisoner among the Indians, and de Boisbriant, commandant in the Illinois, had sent for him. (Margry, vol. VI, p. 386).

In this Bienville was only repeating what de Boisbriant had written him April 24, 1721. It is to be noted that these Frenchmen said that the massacre was on the Kansas river, while Bandelier and Dunbar believe it was on the Platte.

The interesting point as to all this is that the Spaniards declared that the Indians who accompanied Villazur were Apaches, while the French, on information from tribes of the Missouri, referred to these native allies of the Spaniards as Padoucas.

Bourgmont, in 1724, left the Kansas village on the west bank of the Missouri north of the Kansas river and marched west or north-west for ten days to reach the Padouca village. A part of his people were on foot, and part mounted. He writes quite fully of the country he passed over and what he says of it suggests that the small camps he passed and this large Padouca village may have been somewhere near the junction of the Saline and the Smoky Hill rivers. He says these people hunt in summer and winter but are not entirely wandering—are partially sedentary—for they have villages with large houses (*cabanes*), and do some planting. The nation is very numerous and extends for about two hundred leagues. Those distant from the Spanish settlements used flint knives to skin their game and flint axes to cut down trees. The village visited had about one hundred and fifty houses, and the population is given as eight hundred warriors, fifteen hundred women, two thousand children, or nearly thirty persons to a house. This implies permanent houses like those of the earth-lodge people of the Missouri River valley. Into an ordinary skin lodge or tipi not more than ten or fifteen people could be crowded. Thus it would seem that the Padoucas must have lived in villages similar to those of the Pawnees and other earth-lodge people. The Comanches are not supposed to have had permanent houses, or to have

planted. Stories told by the Pawnees within forty years declare definitely that the Comanches knew nothing of the growing of crops.

Spanish documents quoted by Bandelier say that the Apaches of New Mexico in the early part of the eighteenth century lived somewhat in the same way as did the Padouca described by Bourgmont. They had houses, jacales, and huts where they planted in spring, but they did not live at these villages the year through.

It is believed that during the eighteenth century, almost from its first years, the Comanches began to make raids on the people of the plains and especially on the Apaches who finally were driven in from some of their settlements close to the Pueblo villages.

The Apaches were never mentioned by the French, Apache being a southwestern term, the use of which seems never to have extended into French territory. The French hardly refer to any tribes on the plains or on the New Mexican frontier except the Padouca, until the time of Mallet, 1739, when the French first reached New Mexico and found "Laitanes" on the New Mexican frontier. On the other hand, the Spaniards seem to mention no large tribes between the Apache, who occupied the country beyond the New Mexican frontier, and the tribes near the Missouri river. They speak of the Apache as extending out from the New Mexican borders and beyond them to the east were the Panana, Jumano, and other Caddoan tribes; and to the northeast beyond the Apache were other Pananas who were the Pawnees of the Platte.

It must be remembered that scarcely any original observations were made by Lewis and Clark away from the Missouri river. They saw something of the Sioux and something of the village tribes, but for information about the people of the plains, were obliged to depend on the Indians and the few white men who had been long in the country.

For this reason in cases where they report only statements at second hand, the accounts of early explorers generally must not be taken too literally. On the other hand, those who saw the Indians about whom they wrote no doubt reported with substantial accuracy on matters which came under their own observation.

I give below certain mentions of the Padouca by early writers:

Pénicaud, 1698-1722, B. F. in French, *Annals of Louisiana*, New Series, 1869, p. 152, notes disappearance of Padouca who claimed a wide country according to the Delisle map—1712—but are supposed to have broken up into Wetepahatoes, Kiawas, and Kattekas. Lewis and Clark obviously took this from Pénicaud.

P. 155, mentions Heitans.

Mallet Brothers 1739-40, Margry, vol. VI, p. 455. They seem to speak of Ietan and Padouca as distinct. Of the Ietans—Laitanes—it is said that they wander in the country north of Taos, and are not Christians. A camp met by the Mallet brothers had a Ricara captive. After the Mallets had started east, they met a camp of Laitanes on the head of a branch of the Arkansas, possibly the Canadian. Further east in the plains, they met two men and three women of the Padouca, who became frightened and ran away.

Du Lac 1802, Paris and Lyon, 1805; pp. 225-26; a nation dwelling on the Missouri; Peducas, 300; furnish about fifty skins to the upper Louisiana traders. This list includes tribes near, as well as those on, the Missouri river and this band of Padouca or Cataka may be the one spoken of by Lewis and Clark as sometimes visiting Rees and Mandans.

P. 261: "The great nation of the Padaws who range along the Platte river is only about ten days' ride from the Ricaras," then estimated to number 25,000. This is the same French nickname given for the Padoucas by Lewis and Clark. The description would seem to place their villages about on the heads of the Loup river. Immediately afterward he mentions the wandering Baldheads or Halitanes, and tells where they roam—on the Arkansas and west to the mountains of New Mexico.

P. 309: Tells how the Otoes on their summer hunt were attacked by a war party of Halitanes.

These references suggest that du Lac considers Halitanes, Halisanes, Baldheads, and Tetes Pelees as different from the Padaw. The first named are the Comanche. Like this, the information given Lewis and Clark and du Lac, seems to show that the Padaw

or Padoo were not Comanche, that they were supposed to inhabit the country near the Upper Platte, and that some of them at times traded at the Missouri.

Trudeau, 1795, *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, vol. iv, p. 31, describes the Pados almost exactly as du Lac has done and seems also to locate them on the heads of the Loup river. La Salle, in 1680, when on the Illinois river was visited by Indians from the west and they spoke to him about the Gattahka and other tribes among whom were the Pasos. Were these perhaps the Pados?

Lewis and Clark Original Journals, vol. I, p. 190, gives information obtained at Ree villages, 1804. In the list of tribes that live on the plains to the west of the Rees one is given Cat-tar-kah, interpreted as Paducar. This information was presumably had through a French interpreter, for the other tribal names in the list are translated into English. This would seem to show that the French on the Upper Missouri considered the Cataka to be Padouca.

Volume VI contains a table of tribes made up at the Mandan villages in the winter of 1804-5, and so probably came from Mandan, Hidatsa, and French information.

P. 90: Cataka—a tribe that occasionally come to the Mandan villages to trade as do also the Cheyennes, Kiowas, Arapahoes, Staetans, and Crows.

P. 101: Cat a kah, their own name; Ha ka?, given thus with a question as French name for these people; 300 people; traders do not visit them; they at times visit the Ree villages. This Cataka tribe roves with the Dotame, and Nemousin, from the head of the Loup Fork north to the heads of the southern branches of the Yellowstone. "One of these tribes is known to speak the Padoucan language."

P. 102: Dotame—do-ta-ma, their own name; no French name given. They speak the Padouces language; 120 people; no traders visit them; they never come to the villages on the Missouri; raised many horses.

P. 102: Nemousin, the other band said to rove with the Cataka-ni-mi-ou-sin, own name; no French nickname; 200 people; never

visit the villages on the Missouri; the Handbook identifies these people as Comanche.

P. 106: Alitan or Snake Indians—French nickname Gens du Serpent, speak Alitan language. Very numerous; have many horses; all tribes on Missouri war on them; there are three divisions: 1. Aliatan, Snakes, or S6-so-na, trade with Crows and have some trade with Spaniards; 2. Those of the West who live west of the mountains; 3. La Playes occupy plains from head of Arkansas south across the Red river.

P. 108: Padoucas—English name, French nickname Padoo, Padoucies is their own tongue. Live in villages on heads of Platte and Arkansas, trade with New Mexico; many horses. Yet almost immediately Clark says he could get no definite information about this once powerful nation, and quotes French writers. Speaks of a fork of the Platte bearing the name of the tribe and conjectures that the nation had broken up and become individual small tribes. This from Pénicaud.

All this including the Key to the Tribes used in Indian Statistics, vol. v, p. 82, shows that from Lewis and Clark we learn little more than this: that in 1804 the one tribe well known at the upper Missouri villages who were called Padouca were the Cataka.

Pike's Exploration made in 1806. Coues Edition. Coues points out that Pike's Tetaus is a misprint or corruption from Ietans, which is evident. On the map at the end of the third volume is indicated Ietan country. Other plains tribes villages are indicated on Kansas, Platte, and Loup rivers.

P. 535: the Tetaus who occupy the heads of Red and Arkansas rivers, the Canadian, and the Arkansas—and extend to the Del Norte—and the Utahs and Kyawas who live in the "mountains of North Mexico," are the enemies of the Pawnee.

P. 536: "The Tetaus, Camanches, as the Spanish termed them [called] Padoucas by the Pawnees,"—the word "called" is inserted in brackets. This information was given Pike by the French interpreter and seems to show beyond question that at this date the French on the lower Missouri identified the Padouca as Comanche. I do not suppose that the Pawnee generally used the term

Padouca. They had their own name for the Comanches, *La ri ta*, from which possibly might be derived *La li tanes*, *Laitanes*, and perhaps *Alitans*, which however Mooney derives from *Ietan*.

P. 536: The Tetaus are a powerful nation, wandering, do not plant; bounded on south by tribes of Lower Red river, on west by Spanish settlements, on east by Osages, Pawnees, and others, and on north by Utahs, Kyaways, and unknown tribes.

P. 591: Statistical Table says Tetan, English name; Comanche, Indian name; —, French name; 8200 people. Then he says, the Osages made war on the Tetaus, on several other tribes, and on the Padoucas. This points to the Padouca as distinct from the Tetau and others.

James in Long's Expedition, Philadelphia, 1823. Mentions the Padouca in only two places.

The Pawnees, through a French interpreter, described the tribes with which the Skidi war party had a big battle south of the Arkansas in the winter of 1819-20, as *Ietans*, *Arrapahoes*, and *Kiawas*.

If Padouca was the name used by the Pawnees generally for the Comanche, as Pike states, why did not the Pawnee and Oto speak of them by that name to James in 1820, instead of using the term *Ietan*?

We have, in 1802, du Lac speaking of *Halisanes*, *Halitanes*, *Tete Pelees*, and *Baldheads*; Lewis and Clark, 1804, *Alitans*, or *La Plays*; and James, 1820, *Ietan*, or *La Plais*, "Bald Heads, and a few Shoshone or Snake Indians," and in another place "*Ietans*, *Comanche*, or *Snakes*."

In 1820 there was a famous Oto chief named *Ietan* who got his name from his exploits against that tribe. If Padouca was the Oto and Pawnee name for the Comanche, why was not this man called Padouca instead of *Ietan*?

Journal of Jacob Fowler, 1821-22. In November 1821, Glenn and Fowler's party met *Kiawas*, and two or three days later 350 lodges of *Hihatans*. These people held a council and demanded the presents which Major Long had promised them when he had met them in 1820. Fowler on counting the increasing camp found

400 lodges of the following bands: Ietans, Arrapohoes, Kiawa-Padduce, Cheans, Snakes; the Ietans most numerous. This seems to suggest that the Kiawa-Padduce were Kiawa-Apaches, for the people whom Fowler calls Kiawa-Padduce in one place and in another place Padduca, were with the Kiowa and were not Comanche. Yet Glenn's interpreter, Roy, was a man from the Osage country, and in 1853 Neighbors says Padduca was the Osage name for the Comanche or Ietan.

James' *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans*, Mo. Hist. Soc. 1916; does not use the name Padouca nor Ietan, but speaks of the Comanche. In one place he speaks of an Ietan chief with a big party of Pawnees met on the Arkansas June 18, 1822. This is probably the same party of which Fowler speaks, Pawnees and one Ietan chief, but Fowler says that this Ietan chief had recently been to Washington; and it seems probable that he was the Oto chief named Ietan, and not a Comanche at all. James quotes a letter in the Louisiana Gazette, a Missouri newspaper printed in 1810, where is mentioned the "Aytan, or Padoco Nation."

W. P. Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, p. 33. W. P. Clark, about 1880, met a Kiowa-Apache about seventy years old who told him that he had been born on the Missouri river northeast of the Black hills, a statement which indicates that as late as 1810 the Kiowa-Apaches were still in the country where the Cataka had roamed in the days of Lewis and Clark.

All this seems to suggest the probability that in early days the people known as Padouca were not Comanche. If the Comanche had then occupied the central plains, where the French place the Padouca, the Spaniards would have known of it and would have recorded the fact. That the Utes first brought the Comanche to Taos, and that these two tribes were associated for some years thereafter, and that about 1730-40 the Comanche are known to have occupied the country from Taos to and beyond the Arkansas, justifies, to my mind, the belief that the Comanche came South near to the mountains.

Our later information about them tends to strengthen this suggestion. Ruxton, p. 254, speaks of a tradition that the Comanche

and Shoshoni separated on Fountain Creek north of Pueblo in the edge of the mountains. Pike, Lalande, Pursley, Chouteau and De Mun, James, and other early sources, all mention the Comanche and "Snakes" as using trails in the edge of the mountains or among the mountains on their frequent journeys from the Arkansas to the Platte. One of the very early mentions of the Comanche out in the plains is in Bandelier where it is stated that in 1744, thirty-three Frenchmen visited the Comanche on the Rio Jicarilla at the head of the Canadian, east of Taos, and traded them guns. A few years later, we read in the Texas annals that the Comanche are pressing down to Red river, forcing the Lipans southward into Texas.

The mention by La Salle's men of a tribe in Texas, whose name they spell Caumuche, has been thought to show that the Comanche were in Texas in 1680; but it is a mere guess, as I suppose, that this name has anything to do with our name of Comanche.

The tribe spoken of as the Kiawa-Padduca by Jacob Fowler in 1821 may well have been Kiawa-Apache, and the name points to the survival of the use of the name Padouca for the Apache as late as 1821.

What has been written shows that the Spanish records of the expedition under Villazur in 1721 called the Indian allies Jicarilla-Apaches, while the French account called these same Indians Padouca.

Bourgmont says that the Padouca had fixed villages with large houses and that they planted; and the early Lewis and Clark map records fixed villages for that people. On the other hand, the books and the Pawnee Indians declare that the Comanches did not raise crops, and had no fixed villages.

Du Lac implies that the Padaws and the Halitanes were different tribes.

Lewis and Clark say that the Cataka were Padouca and that the Snakes, Alitan, La Plais, were different from the Cataka.

Pike says that Padouca was the Pawnee name for the Comanche. He also says that the Tetaus or Tetan—Ietan—were Comanche. Then he says that the Osages made war on the Tetans and on the

Padouca, thus implying that these are different tribes. He speaks also of the Tetaus as different from the Utahs which is evidence that Mooney's conclusion that the Ietans are Utes is not well founded—but Mooney does not say that the Ietans of later days were Utes—in fact, the books generally imply that the Ietans are Comanches.

Jacob Fowler found, with the Kiowa, some people whom he called Kiowa-Padduce and Padduca—people who were not Comanche.

W. P. Clark, about 1880, met a Kiowa-Apache about seventy years old, who said he was born on the Missouri river northeast of the Black hills.

The evidence is not conclusive as to who were the Padouca, but it convinces me that the Padouca were not Comanche and I am disposed to regard them as Apache.

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